NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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This is Miss Autherine Juanita Lucy

She wanted to study library science at Alabama University. A shocked world watched as an obscene mob said she couldn't. See p. 5.

POLITICS *KEFAUVER WINS APPLAUSE*

Stevenson's washout on integration poses dilemma for liberals

By Elmer Bendiner

ADLAI STEVENSON last week seemed convinced that his band wagon comes equipped with standard furniture labeled: liberal, labor and Negro votes. These he regards as rugged pieces of property that will stand up despite any abuse and still be around every fourth November. Since he has them he doesn't need them, he seemed to figure; so he can shop for segregationist and cold-war votes.

He pitched vigorously for the latter on his west coast swing last week. In San Francisco he buried the Geneva spirit by hailing the Washington Declaration of the President and Prime Minister Eden in these words:

> "As an epitaph for the Geneva spirit and recognition that the cold war is still with us, this statement at least marks a return to reality, which is the necessary prerequisite for an effective foreign policy."

QUESTION & QUESTION: In Los Angeles he told 150 trade union leaders that he favored not repeal of Taft-Hartley but only "substantial modification." When they pressed him on whether he would "get rid of the Taft-Hartley problem" early in his administration, he answered with a question:

> "How many Democratic congressmen will you send me from California?"

When he spoke before 200 Negro leaders he demonstrated to what extremes he was willing to go to be called a "moderate." As he talked mobs were driving a Negro student from the University of Alabama, bombs and buckshot were blasting the houses of NAACP leaders throughout the South, and Negroes in some areas were under a merciless economic siege. When Stevenson was asked whether, as President, he would use the armed forces if necessary to enforce the Supreme Court's school desegregation order, he said:

> "I think that would be a great mistake. That is exactly what brought on the Civil War. It can't be done by troops or bayonets. We must proceed gradually, not upsetting habits or traditions that are older than the Republic."

FACE WITH A NOSE: Asked whether he would support the amendment introduced by Rep. A. Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) to ban Federal funds for states which refuse to desegregate their schools, Stevenson gave a blunt, "No,"

(Continued on Page 9)

EXCLUSIVE: THE SHAME OF GREECE

Death island gets Greek patriots anew

Re-opening by the Greek Government of a concentration camp on the barren and desolate island of Youra in late 1955 has brought forth world protests to Prime Minister Karamanlis in Athens—including 200 cables from prominent Americans. The importance of the issue is reflected in the program of the Democratic Union of Greek political parties in the current elections, calling for full amnesty to all political prisoners and exiles.

The following report on conditions at Youra and other Greek prisons comes from eye-witness reports from members of official commissions and released prisoners to the author, who must remain anonymous but who writes: "None of these facts has been officially denied. An attempt by the government to bring suit against an Athenian journalist who denounced prison conditions ended in failure; the acting Minister of Justice confirmed the data when called as a witness Nov. 26, 1955."

A NATION DESCENDED from one of the oldest civilizations, Greece—while calling for "relaxation of tensions"—has in recent months reopened a medieval prison fortress at Rhodes and a concentration camp on the island of Youra which less than five years ago was condemned as unfit for human existence.

The death-island of Youra was used as a deportation camp by the ancient Romans but the emperor Tiberius forbade its use for political prisoners. "Such an exile is synonymous with death," the not over-squeamish monarch is supposed to have said. Even the Nazis rejected it as unfit for Italian POW's.

The modern Greeks in 1947 began to send political exiles to Youra and continued until 1952, when world protest called a halt. Too many prisoners had died there, too many had gone mad, too many had become human wrecks.

Six months ago, however, under guard of soldiers and marines, hundreds of male prisoners were again transported to Youra; and during the coming year probably all male political prisoners will follow them to the "Dachau of Greece."

WOMEN TO RHODES: Almost simultaneously another ancient prison has been reopened, this one for female prisoners. It is the fortress on the beautiful island of Rhodes, where old and middle-aged women are put to hard labor, made to carry sacks of cement, heavy steel girders, boulders and planks, until they succumb to over-strain or exposure or to the lashings of their guards.

The news of Youra, Rhodes and other living hells in Greece is seldom to be found in the world's great dailies. Silence has always been the ally of the doers of wrong.

The Veroff, Gastoros and Calithea prisons in and near Athens at this moment contain almost 3,000 political women prisoners from the ages of 15 to 80 ranging from illiterate peasants

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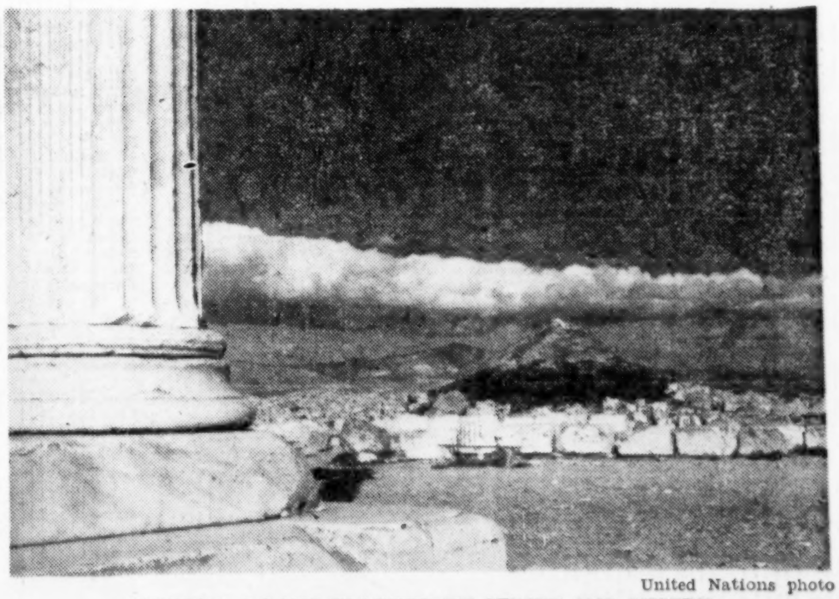


United Nations photo

GREECE: A LAND PLAGUED BY STRIFE AND MISERY

Will the elections bring freedom and a better life?

THE MAIL BAG
USM

Nix . . .

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The thing about Ike
I dislike most
Is the tricky chap
In the V.P. post.

L. G.

. . . on Nixon

E. PALATKA, FLA.

Has somebody already launched the 1956 campaign slogan, "Nix on Nixon?" F. A. B.

The Kwak story

TORONTO, ONTARIO

Congratulations on the fine campaign conducted by the U.S. people for the Kwaks! It is only one of many victories that can be won if people stick together.

Your paper is like a breath of fresh air (trite expression) from over the border and helps in large measure to sweep away the smog of lies and half-truths of U.S. big business.

May you prosper and spread your work to include not just a minority of good, honest folks but the bulk of the people as well. H. B.

Pain and anger

NEW YORK, N.Y.

There are some moments of pain so intermingled with anger that the throat aches for sharp outcry. Such were the moments of farewell to Choon Cha and Chungsoon Kwak on Flight 546, Jan. 29. Surely, the sky's torrent of tears that poured on the blue of the ascending plane were for the America whose geographical grandeurs could spare no niche for the talented and creative Kwaks. It is consoling of course, that they go to North Korea where their beauty and abilities will be amply appreciated. But the anger against the mean-minded ones grows and persists. Alice Citron

Beef

DURANGO, COLO.

I have had three years of drouth. I had to sell most of my cattle last July. I sold cows with big calves for $120 a pair. I needed drouth relief last winter but could not get it. Had I been a big politician it would have been forthcoming. But I was lucky I sold when I did as the following week they dropped $10 and kept dropping. I don't know what the low point was but the market isn't too hot yet, they claim, due to overproduction.

I did belong to the Cattle Assn. The only cure they have for overproduction is advertise and let you people know that beef is good to eat.

This year doesn't look any more promising than 1955 or 1954 in the way of moisture. We got 14 inches of snow in late Nov., but melted off excepting on the north hillsides. We got two inches Jan. 16 and it's about all gone. The winter of 1951-52 we had four feet on the level. 1951 was a dry summer.

Farmer

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

LEVITTOWN—A member of the District 5 school board has joined the attack aiming at reducing the recording, "The Lonesome Train," to the level of a dust-collector's item [because of] the alleged Communist overtones of the composition.

State Education Commissioner James E. Allen ordered the district to take the record off the classroom turntables until state officials decide the matter.

. . . Critics say the cantata, written by Earl Robinson and Millard Lampell, overemphasizes the sympathy Lincoln had for the common man.

—Newsday, Hempstead, L. I.
December 16, 1955.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: A. Zuckerman, Brooklyn, N. Y. Please send original clipping with entry.

SPRING FESTIVAL

Keep April 17 open for the GUARDIAN'S SPRING FESTIVAL at Carnegie Hall.

Full details next week.

Wanted: a peace ticket

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

In the discussion of foreign policy which has taken place since Secy. Dulles issued his infamous "brink of war" statement, it is hardly ever mentioned that Dulles is merely pursuing a policy that began under President Truman and Secy. of State Dean Acheson. Attacks on Dulles which fail to take into account this basic fact of present foreign policy are hypocritcal attempts to promote the candidacy of various Democrats as an alternative to the so-called "Eisenhower-Dulles war policy." The letter to the N.Y. Times (1/22/56) from James P. Warburg, although it does not suggest an alternative to the present bipartisan dead-end in the U.S. foreign policy, does have the virtue of expressing the dishonesty of the Democratic attack on Dulles. The principal attack on Republican foreign policy on the part of all leading Democratic candidates for the Presidency, including Stevenson, Harriman, Kefauver and Symington, has been a charge that the Republicans are endangering our security by cutting the arms budget—in other words, the Democrats claim our votes on the ground that they would build an even bigger military establishment, perhaps send it to war as Truman did, but in any case leave even less money for social services.

Support of any of these candidates, so long as they urge larger military budgets and continue to promote the cold war, is an obvious betrayal of peace. It is incredible that any responsible person or party on the Left should propose support of such candidates as a genuine alternative to Eisenhower and Dulles.

The only sane solution, of course, would be the launching of a campaign for a candidate who genuinely favored peaceful coexistence, immediate multilateral reduction of armaments, and abolition of nuclear weapons. Failing such a development, Mr. Warburg is quite right in saying of the Democrats: "If they do not make foreign policy a real issue and succeed in revitalizing it, it will make very little difference whether they or the Republicans preside over the ensuing tragedy."

It is very late but there is still time to begin the building of an independent political party based on peace, equality and the Bill of Rights. Clifford T. McAvoy

Usvestia?

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Due to the anti-Israel attitude of Russia, I have decided to discontinue your paper. Samuel Chauser

Talk it over

ATLANTA, GA.

Thanks for New Year's wish. In subscribing once more to the GUARDIAN, I would like to make three suggestions: first, that in trying to be truthful, the GUARDIAN eliminate bitterness; second, that you cease making an isolated case of outrage the expression of a whole section of the country; third, that you talk over your problems occasionally with a respected citizen from the South, either white or colored, but one who has lived here and seen the progress evinced by the last ten years.

Kate Fort Codington

For mopery?

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

The FBI has brought to the bar of justice the crooks who robbed Brink's. Will it now bring to justice that suspicious character who is always loitering at brinks?

Mike Essin

The DuBois series

DAYTONA BEACH, FLA.

Please mail me 10 copies of the Jan. 30 issue. I'm getting them on account of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois' article. He always writes splendid and sensible articles. Forceful articles based on facts. R. S. H.

For Helen Gibbs

PALO ALTO, CALIF.

The enclosed check is in memory of Helen Gibbs of Berkeley, Calif. Mrs. Gibbs died Jan. 27 after several months' illness. You know her as an ardent GUARDIAN supporter, probably a charter member like myself. She never compromised with her ideals which always involved the betterment of human beings in their life struggles. Because we shared many discussions based on the GUARDIAN I am making this contribution in her name.

Keep up your good work. The GUARDIAN becomes a finer paper with every issue, so responsible in its presentation of news not found in any other paper. It is good to see from your readers' letters that you go all over the world.

Congratulations to Dr. DuBois on his analysis of the Negro's position and status both among themselves and in the country at large.

Mrs. Agnes C. Robinson

Dissent

NEW YORK, N.Y.

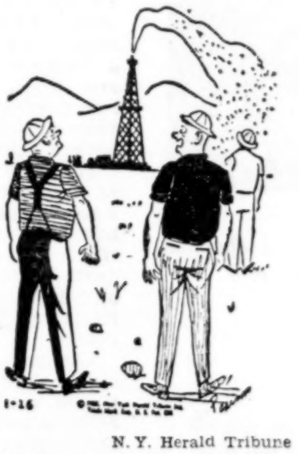
In his article, Howard Fast quotes the latest dictionary in defining communism. To this he adds a few of his own, to the effect that communists, in short, are nothing but individuals seeking the betterment of mankind.

First of all, a fundamental article of communist dogma is that the ends justify the means; a brief resort to the writings of Marx and Lenin will substantiate this. [Tried brief resort; couldn't substantiate. —Ed.] These "means" are not mere reforms, they are upheavals, revolutions, out of which will emerge (they believe) a selfless being whose personal interests are subordinated to those of the state.

Insofar as concerns your articles humanizing Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Red China, etc., and your talk about the decay of freedoms in the U.S., I have this to ask: Would a paper like the GUARDIAN (one highly critical of the government) be permitted to exist in Russia or its satellite countries?

Joseph Jordan

We doubt that an anti-peace, pro-profit system press would cut much ice in the U.S.S.R.—Ed.



N.Y. Herald Tribune

"For gosh sake! Surplus wheat!"

Looking backward

NEW YORK, N.Y.

By bluntly rejecting Premier Bulganin's proposal for a treaty of friendship President Eisenhower added irrefutable proof to the already existing evidence that the fatal bipartisan course decided on nine years ago remains unchanged and that the idiotic Dulles "art" for keeping the U.S. at the brink of war stands approved.

The paragraphs that follow apply remarkably well to the Eisenhower-Dulles attitude toward the Soviet Union—yet they were written nearly seven years ago (3/31/49) in your own paper by Konni Zilliacus:

"It is clearly untrue that everything has been tried to come to terms with the Soviet Union. People who talk like that remind me of the old saying about the rich—that they will do anything for the poor except get off their backs.

"We have done everything to reach agreement with the Soviet Union except to treat them as partners and not enemies in settling the affairs of Europe, Greece and Germany; and to accept the right of the workers to advance toward socialism as they see fit, under the leadership of political parties.

"Equally false is the argument of the Atlantic Pacters that by banding together and starting an arms race, we shall be in a better position to settle differences with the Soviet Union; that is called the 'argument from strength.'"

A. Garcia Diaz

New leisure class

CLEVELAND, O.

I am not opposed to automation, but society should be so organized that economic exploitation for profit be abolished, and the increased leisure due to automation be employed for cultural purposes. Our present educational system would have to be revamped. J.M.

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Vol. 8, No. 18 178 FEBRUARY 20, 1956

REPORT TO READERS

Lynch terror and red-baiting

UPWARDS OF 2,000 PEOPLE thronged a rally in New York City Feb. 8 under auspices of a Provisional Committee for Justice in Mississippi headed by Lyman Beecher Stowe, grandson of the author of **Uncle Tom's Cabin.** The audience brought a ton of food and a ton of clothing for the Mississippi victims of economic boycott by the White Citizens Councils.

The meeting was vigorously chaired by Guy Brewer, Negro civic leader. It unanimously supported N.Y. State Assemblyman Samuel Berman's resolution calling for Congressional investigation of the White Citizens Councils and murder in the South, and for the unseating of Mississippi's Congressional delegation until the state observes the 14th Amendment guaranteeing the right of all citizens to vote. Berman's resolution also calls for support of the Lehman bill providing for a federal commission to enforce the right to vote.

The meeting also called on Gov. Harriman of New York to refuse to extradite chain-gang fugitive Willie Reid to Florida. Speakers were Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Mr. Stowe, Mrs. Ada Baker, Willie Reid's sister; his counsel, Milton Friedman; and Angus Cameron, head of Cameron Associates, publishers of **Labor's Untold Story,** Harvey Matusow's recantation, **False Witness,** and other urgent books.

In its preparation stage the meeting was attacked by N.Y. **Post** columnist and radio commentator Barry Gray because of alleged leftist sponsorship. Two scheduled speakers, Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mississippi and Mrs. Andrew W. Simpkins of S. Carolina later sent regrets. Dr. Howard has been conducting a running fight with FBI head J. Edgar Hoover for federal government failure to secure justice in Mississippi.

In this connection the following portion of the address of Angus Cameron seems most pertinent:

THERE MUST BE AN ALLIANCE of Americans who, hating segregation wherever it is found, in North and South, and fearful of nothing and nobody, shall end this shame before the nations of the world. And we must not allow the old crow calls of "communist" and "red" echoing from the Senate hearing rooms and from segregationists and secessionists to divert us from this altogether American enterprise.

Our times find an analogy with the days of the Abolition struggle. Then Richard Henry Dana Jr. said:

"The whole country is one vast Dionisius' ear. Every whisper in the closet is transmitted and published. Ambassadors' appointments hang in suspense if a person is suspected of having uttered a statement hostile to slavery. It is a standing joke in Washington today that Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry or Franklin, with their recorded opinions on slavery, could not be confirmed now in any national office.

"On the other side, John Randolph, a great defender of slavery, said, 'We will govern you by your white slaves, the timid and time serving, the prey of politicians.'"

We must find allies among all Americans, Negro and white, in the North and South. We must strengthen the hands of people like the courageous students at Alabama. We must not allow the squalls of red-baiters to cloud **this** issue as they have so many others.

THE PAST TEN YEARS have shown many of us that the easiest way to stop all democratic action is to employ those emotive words "red-dominated." The chief experts at this have been, of course, the Federal police, J. Edgar Hoover's national detectives. All democratic action to them is red-tinged and every democratic act or dissent is made fair game for investigation, smear, and repression. And yet, these same Federal police have ignored the most horrendous crimes in the South from the hideous lynching of Emmett Till to more recent murders and kidnapings. They have found that no Federal laws have been broken though the land be bathed in blood of Negro Americans and the children of all snatched away and foully murdered.

And, of course, in addition to the FBI the next most powerful recent expert in red-baiting is Eastland himself. He has found that the best way to preserve the rule of the stupid, the ignorant and the venal is to smear all free democratic action by calling it "Communist."

As Americans we must not put up forever with the theory that in order to oppose evil we must come to evil for instruction to ask for clearance as to who may and who may not be our allies. I do not believe, for instance, that my opposition to segregation should be shunned and my earnest support scorned because a segregationist, Eastland, has illegally published a Sub-Committee report calling me a conspirator. Will it finally come to the pretty pass, through continued fear of being called Red by the FBI and the Eastlands, that only those may oppose evil who are first approved of by evil?

CALIFORNIA'S CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT—I

Must floods ravage America?

THIS WAS MARYSVILLE, CALIFORNIA

By Reuben W. Borough

(First of three articles)

LOS ANGELES

THE WESTERN STATES FLOODS of December and January have rolled up a record of disaster unequalled since the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906. The unrestrained violence of swollen rivers in California, Oregon, Nevada, and Idaho has caused more than 50 deaths and property loss probably in excess of one billion dollars. Twenty six million dollars' worth of state highways alone have been swept away. In 60 counties of the four states —40 of them in California—28,000 homes have been damaged, a heavy percentage totally destroyed. Red Cross assistance was necessitated for more than 42,000 persons with a long-term Red Cross rehabilitation program of $8,000,000.

In the wreckage of the Feather River's onslaught upon California's Yuba City, in the flood carnage of other streams at Stockton, Santa Cruz, Eureka, Klamath, Soquel, Guerneville, pained and angry citizens were asking: "In this age of boasted American engineering know-how, need this have been?"

The answer is simple: It need not have been.

THE DAMS THAT WEREN'T: The recently completed Folsom Dam on the American River saved Sacramento. Rich rural and urban areas along the Sacramento River went unscathed because of the stream controls of Shasta and Keswick Dams. Friant Dam protected the San Joaquin Valley. Because of these same controls, flood damage, though severe, was kept out of the major disaster column in the winter season of 1950-1951 when the waters from the melting snow pack catapulted down the canyons of the High Sierras. Arrowrock, Anderson Ranch and the Army Engineers Lucky Peak Dam cut the flow of the Boise River in Southwestern Idaho almost to zero with the result that Fayette River waters entered the Snake River without damage.

But there were no Reclamation Bureau dams on the Feather and Yuba Rivers which concentrated their recent flood violence upon Yuba City. Terminus Dam on the Kaweah River and Success Dam on the Tule River, though authorized by Congress in 1944, were still unbuilt, with the result that Tulare County supervisors are demanding $6,250,000 in flood relief from the State of California to cover an area that suffered a $20 million loss. (Adequate flood control structures would have cost much less.) New Hogan Dam, though authorized by Congress a decade ago, was still only a blue print and the flood waters of the Calaveras River swept through South Stockton leaving behind a pitiable tale of desolation and human woe. In the debris of flood-smitten Santa Cruz, Klamath, Camp Weott, Marysville, East Palo Alto, the same story with the same explanation: lack of adequate flood-control structures—delayed or forgotten dams.

COST EQUALS LOSS: Why no dams? None but fools or knaves would deny the economic justification for their building. Over against the billion dollar recent flood loss is the astounding fact that the entire estimated cost of the 25 features of the Central Valley Project so far authorized totals only a little more than three quarters of a billion dollars. Add the cost of the big Feather River dam and power plant with a reservoir capacity of 3,500,000 acre-feet—$418,661,000—and the total cost of the protective set-up exceeds but little the total loss in the Christmas week floods! And the protective set-up is more than mere machinery for flood control—it is a vast conservation project with the varied benefits made possible by multiple-purpose dams to run for a century or more.

PRIVATE POWER POLITICS: Why no dams? The major reason is political: the Pacific Gas & Electric veto.

The exercise of this veto need surprise no one—self-preservation of the power trust demands it. The dams that the Bureau of Reclamation build in the West, for its Central Valley Project or elsewhere, are multiple-purpose. They provide not only for flood control and irrigation (to which, theoretically, the power trust has no adverse interest) but for the public generation of power for preferential distribution to cities, irrigation and utility districts, rural electric co-operatives. The thrust is disastrous to private utility profits—by the sheer force of superior efficiency the multiple-purpose dam penetrates the power trust's empire and prevents its expansion. For the private power interests it is fight or die.

The Pacific Gas & Electric Corp. boasts a half century of history of warring against public ownership enterprises, whether owned and operated by the Reclamation Bureau, municipalities or utility districts. The PG&E, as far back as 1922, forced a referendum vote on the State Water and Power Act, one of the earliest of California's efforts to implement public ownership; spent, with the collaboration of lesser power companies, more than a half million dollars to defeat it.

PRICE OF "PARTNERSHIP": Covertly and publicly the PG&E opposed the grant of water and power rights in Yosemite National Park to the City of San Francisco in 1913. It lost and San Francisco completed its Hetch-Hetchy dam and its Mountain Division transmission line to the South Bay in 1926. But San Francisco's board of supervisors failed to submit a bond issue, as promised, to the people to acquire, under condemnation, San Francisco's municipal distribution system. Thus the city had hydro-electric energy at its South Bay transmission line terminus and no place to put it. The PG&E gobbled it under an illegal contract and holds it today with the result that the people in San Francisco—classic example of Eisenhower "partnership"—pay power and light bills 30 per cent higher than the people of Los Angeles, a "no-partnership" city.

In six municipal elections the people of San Francisco have tried for municipal distribution of its Hetch-Hetchy power and six times have gone down to defeat before the costly propaganda and the organizing skill of PG&E.

FARMERS WON: The PG&E, leading the power trust pack, fought and forced to a referendum the comprehensive state water plan adopted by the state legislature in August, 1933, which included the initial public proposal for construction of the Central Valley Project. Into that campaign it poured the usual slush funds, pressured banks (city, town and rural), business men and press into political activity to beat the act. But the embattled farmers of the San Joaquin Valley, with the aid of courageous and able advocates of public power in the San Francisco Bay area, won. The plan was approved by a vote of 459,712 to 426,109. Difficulty in marketing the revenue bonds in the midst of the depression led the Bureau of Reclamation to take it over on May 29, 1935.

Since that time the PG&E has not ceased its efforts either to block or to pervert CVP's purposes and plans..

Typical of its attitude toward the valley's smaller communities seeking release from exploitation was its performance in the Redding election of 1949 to decide whether the city should buy its power from the CVP or PG&E. It is a matter of record that in the campaign to defend its entrenched position PG&E spent $24,281.92, an average of $17.80 for each vote cast.

Most recent of PG&E's open assaults upon public power was its campaign with the assistance of back-stage stooges, to prevent the Sacramento Municipal Utility District, embracing a rural area around the state's capital, from entering into a 40-year contract with CVP to supply its light and power needs at a cost of 4.46 mills per kilowatt hour. (The district had been paying the private company 5.57 mills.) The cry of "Government Subsidy" was dinned into the citizens' ears but the contract was culminated and became effective in 1954, enabling the district to announce its third rate reduction since 1949 with savings to its citizen customers approximating $525,000 per year and bringing the district's level 29.2% below the rates of the private power companies in Northern and Central California.

NEXT WEEK: The history of the Central Valley Project.

Robert Morss Lovett

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, scholar, educator and front-line fighter in all the great causes of the last 60 years, died Feb. 8 in Chicago. His final illness prevented his testifying before the Subversive Activities Control Board on behalf of the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born. He was co-chairman of the ACPFB's Midwest Committee.

Morss Lovett, as he was known by most friends, came out of Harvard in 1893 and went to the University of Chicago as an English instructor. In 1936, an Illinois legislative committee demanded his resignation because of his lifelong association with radical causes. Though he was then 65 and eligible to retire, the University defied the witch-hunt and kept him on the staff for three years after that.

NOBLER THE NATURE: In a 1954 testimonial to him—to which Dr. Harold C. Urey contributed—Dr. Lovett summed up his guiding principles:

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

"Compassion and indignation." He derived them from Jonathan Swift's "fierce indignation" and Francis Bacon's observation: "The nobler the nature, the more objects of compassion it has."

Dr. Lovett allied himself with the bitter struggles of Chicago labor on countless picket lines and actively participated in the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, terming their execution in 1927 "an obscene spectacle." He fought the Palmer raids of the '20's as he fought the witch-hunts of today. He helped found the Labor Party of the '20's just as he helped form the Progressive Party in 1948.

He and his wife, Ida, who survives him, were associates of the late Jane Addams, founder of Hull House, where they lived in recent years. He edited the **New Republic, Poetry Magazine** with Harriet Monroe, and the **Dial;** wrote a novel and a play; collaborated with William Vaughn Moody on a history of English literature, and helped bring many literary talents to prominence.

OVID ON IKE: After his retirement in 1939 he was appointed secretary for the Virgin Islands by Secy. of the Interior Harold Ickes but was dismissed by Congress in 1943 in an action inspired by the Dies Committee, barring him, Goodwin Watson and the late William Dodd "forever" from government service. The three men won a Supreme Court reversal of this action.

Later he taught at the University of Puerto Rico and Fisk University in Nashville.

Of President Eisenhower's failure for the first two years of his administration to implement his opposition to the Walter-McCarran immigration law, Dr. Lovett offered a translation from Ovid: "I know the right, and do approve it, too; I know the wrong, and yet the wrong pursue."

WAR & PEACE

Spain, France, Greece, Italy—all point to crying need for new American policies

By Tabitha Petran

RACE RIOTS in Alabama and Algiers; student rebellion in Spain; mounting crisis in France; emergence in Greece, on the eve of national elections, of a popular coalition dedicated to neutralism; allied quarrels with W. Germany over financing of their occupation troops—these are a few recent developments which highlight the deepening dilemmas of Western policy.

Western comment finds the origin of these dilemmas in Soviet "offensives" of one kind or another. It keeps repeating that "the search is on for answers to a host of tough problems posed by the Soviet challenge" (**N. Y Times,** 2/12). For it is obvious, as London's **New Statesman** pointed out (2/11), that "we need a Western plan for peace." But if a search was on, it was wholly obscured by the continuing and renewed emphasis on military force:

- A "crash program" to produce the latest "ultimate weapon"—the bigger, more destructive intercontinental ballistic missile—was in the works as the result of the campaign by the Democrats against the Administration's allegedly "slow" and "inadequate" military program. Resignation of Asst. Secy. for Air Trevor Gardner, over allegedly insufficient expenditures for this weapon, shows that even larger military spending will be demanded.
- The growing provocations implicit in the accelerating arms race were dramatized by U. S. Air Force launchings of "strategic balloons" (see p. 8).
- Hastily-organized SEATO military maneuvers in Bangkok were designed, said the **Christian Science Monitor** (2/8), to make "a show of strength" and so halt the "noticeable tendency" toward neutrality in Thailand. Also under way was a massive mock atomic assault on Iwo Jima.
- Implementation of Anglo-American plans for military intervention in the Middle East was discussed with France at a conference in Washington.

THE CREDIT IS POOR: The contrast between these Washington moves and Moscow's offers of trade, friendship and peace were so striking as to provoke comment even in the American press. To Joseph C. Harsch (**CSM,** 2/8 & 9) it suggested that "the Soviet position in the eyes of the world is improving . . . gaining acceptance," while "something more needs to be done to rescue the credit of the West." Our European allies, he said, are beginning to think that "the Western position is out of date, is founded too heavily on militarism, and not enough on compromise and conciliation."

From Japan, the **NYT** (2/10) reported "a marked lack of enthusiasm among both Tokyo diplomatic circles and the Japanese" over U. S. military maneuvers in the Far East, and the belief that "a military maneuver was a poor answer" to the Soviet friendship campaign in Southeast Asia.

BURGESS AND MACLEAN: The contrast was reinforced by the statement made in Moscow by two former British diplomats who fled England in 1951, apparently for the U. S. S. R. Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean explained that their purpose was to achieve "greater mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and the West." They said:

> "We had every possibility to know the plans of a small but powerful group of men who opposed the achievement of such a mutual understanding and for this reason we had every grounds to fear these plans."

Today the Western press dismisses these charges as the mouthings of traitors. But five years before Maclean and Burgess left England, CBS correspondent Howard K. Smith broadcast from London (6/16/46):

> "To a reporter on the spot in Europe the impression is inevitable that there are powerful circles who are not interested in agreement with Russia. . . . After a year of frenzied campaign these influential circles in both countries [U. S. and Britain] are succeeding in their aim. By continual pounding they have built up a set of completely false notions in the public mind—all notions tending to make the public think that agreement is impossible."

THE RUSSIAN VISIT: British sources saw in the emergence of the two former diplomats a Soviet effort to ease relations with Britain on the eve of the April visit of Soviet leaders. The scheduled Soviet-British talks could help relieve the West of the dangerous rigidity which Washington's "unconditional surrender" demands have forced on it—that is, if Britain were to adopt an independent line and the role of mediator. Such a role could win popular support for Prime Minister Eden, who badly needs it. The fact that he returned empty-handed from Washington could create added pressure in that direction.

But there are strong forces working against a modification. On his return from the U. S., Eden was reported ready to demand "Soviet concessions on German reunification." This is just about the last question on which further Soviet concessions may be expected. If it is anything more than a prior bargaining stand, it suggests unwillingness to negotiate at all.

GRONCHI'S VIEWS: Yet pressures for a less rigid Western policy on this and other issues are gathering on all sides. Their extent can be measured in an interview given **CSM** (2/3) by Italian President Gronchi, who will soon visit the U. S. Gronchi declared that he will warn U. S. leaders that

> ". . . unless the West comes up with some new proposals on German unification, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer will continue to lose support and eventually Germany will buy some attractively packaged Soviet proposal."

(Adenauer's weakening position in W. Germany was disclosed when he was forced by the Free Democrats to give up his plan for revising the electoral law to favor his own party. In the richest and most populous W. German state, N. Rhine-Westphalia, he faces possible loss of control to a Free Democrat - Socialist coalition. Both parties want direct negotiations with the U. S. S. R. on reunification and some revision of the rearmament treaties with the West. Coalition between them on a national level could insure Adenauer's defeat in 1957).

Gronchi also said he will urge the U. S. to drop its opposition to China's UN membership, and make clear Italy's determination to recognize China and back its admission to UN. Criticizing American foreign policy as "far too rigid and inflexible," he declared that "it adopts certain fixed images and concepts and clings to them long after they have become obsolete and irrelevant." Citing the U. S. attitude toward communism as a case in point, he said it "blinds" Americans to "positive aspects of developments in the Soviet Union and China." As for Italy itself, Gronchi reiterated his support for an "opening to the left."

MOLLET IN TROUBLE: The situation in France also demands a change in Western policy. The minority Republican Front government of Socialist Premier Guy Mollet is already "lurching to disaster" (London **New Statesman,** 2/11), owing to Mollet's concessions to the rightist diehards in Algeria. When Gen. Catroux, a liberal among French colonial administrators, was appointed Resident-General in Algiers, the Cabinet voted unanimously not to accept his resignation under pressure from the colonialists.

But Mollet, faced with the riots of French colonials in Algiers (organized by Poujadists) promptly demanded Catroux's resignation. By thus yielding to the N. African lobby, Mollet undercut any hopes for an understanding with "moderate" Algerian nationalists, who now declare that the Natl. Liberation Committee is the only spokesman for the Algerian people. If the Committee now refuses to negotiate (and Mollet's concessions to the right will have destroyed any faith it may have had in the government's intentions), fighting will not be confined to Algeria but will threaten also the precarious settlements achieved in Tunis and Morocco.

POPULAR FRONT GAINING: At home too, the Republican Front, by refusing to base its government on the left majority produced by the elections, is becoming the hostage of the right. Two mass demonstrations, one rightist and one Communist, were banned by the government in Paris because it feared, **NYT** explained (2/11), not "the stirrings of the right" but "the possibility of effective Communist action." Right-wing demonstrations, said **NYT,**

> ". . . could lend a spurious sense of urgency, backed by historical precedent, to Communist appeals to Socialists and Radicals to re-establish the popular front against a fascist 'peril.' Leaders of the Republican Front government . . . fear the rank and file of the two Republican Front parties might find it difficult to resist communist invitations to join 'anti-fascists.' This would be particularly appealing since the avowed object of such groupings would be to combat those who have caused their own leader [Mollet] embarrassment both in Paris and Algiers."

Formation of rank and file Popular Front Committees, which CP Secy. Jacques Duclos recently called "a promising starting point," have spurred fears that such a front will be forced from below. The riots in Algiers, first large - scale fascist demonstrations since the war, have been likened by some to the riots over the Stavisky scandal in Feb., 1934, which led to the formation of the first Popular Front. The N. Y. **Herald Tribune** (2/11) saw in the current unrest over Algeria "a sign of the serious crisis in France . . . [which] is generally expected to come to a head within six months."

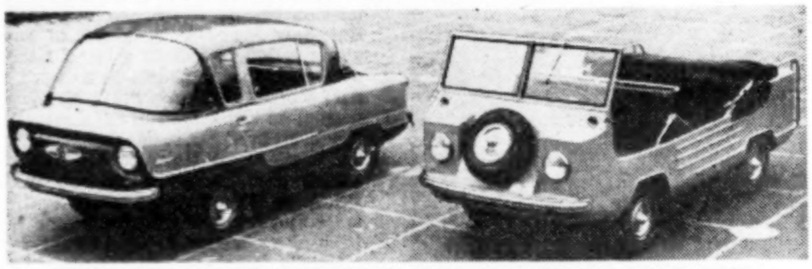
UNREST IN SPAIN: The weakening of another "free world" bastion was revealed by the student rebellion against Falange control at Madrid University, the latest symptom of what **Newsweek** (1/16) called "a general malaise" throughout Franco Spain. The government's tough crackdown on the students and its closing of the university suggest how seriously it takes the disaffection. **NYT** (2/12) found that the student rebellion

> ". . . does not mean anything politically dramatic is in the offing . . . but . . . is symptomatic and could conceivably turn out to be the beginning of the end of the Franco dictatorship—allowing for a prolonged ending."

Meanwhile, Franco faces another crisis, as Alvarez del Vayo, former foreign minister of Republican Spain, pointed out (**Nation,** 2/11). Having armed and helped the rebellion against France in French Morocco, Franco now faces a demand for independence in Spanish Morocco. Del Vayo noted his dilemma:

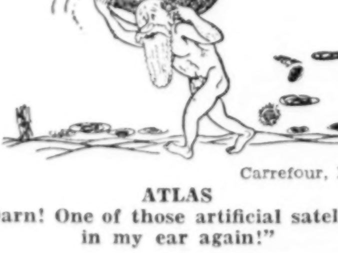
> "Either Franco yields to the Sultan's demand that independence apply to all Morocco or he must be ready to fight the Nationalists in the Spanish zone. In the first instance, he risks a conflict with his own army—and the loss of the protectorate; in the second, he faces a conflict with the Spanish people as well as the Moroccans. . . . In the event of a new war in Morocco Franco would have a dangerous situation in his rear. . . . [There is] increasing doubt in the government about the reliability of a large part of the armed forces and of the police and Guardia Civil."

The disintegration, however slow, of the bastions of Western policy make imperative new approaches and alternatives. For in the absence of a plan and a policy for peace, the increasing setbacks to Western policy can lead to even more dangerous adventurism.



WHAT THE SMART MUSCOVITE WILL BE DRIVING NEXT YEAR

Here are the passenger and utility models of the 1956 "people's car," the Byelka (Squirrel). The passenger model originally was designed for handicapped persons, with all controls on the steering column (except for elbow-operated brakes). Front cowl and steering wheel fold forward to permit entrance to front seat. Utility model has 4-wheel drive, removable back seat, flat water-tight bottom for fording streams. It may be propelled by oars.



Carrefour, Paris

ATLAS

"Darn! One of those artificial satellites in my ear again!"

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NEGRO STUDENT REFUSES TO QUIT

Miss Lucy and the mob: a nightmare in Alabama

By Eugene Gordon

AUTHERINE JUANITA LUCY is the youngest of nine children of a Marengo County, Ala., Negro tenant farmer. She holds a Bachelor of Science degree and a teaching certificate from Birmingham's Miles College (Negro Methodist). An English major, she taught the subject for two years in a Carthage, Miss., school.

In the summer of 1952, with her friend Polly Myers Hudson, she applied for admission to Alabama University to study library science. Both applications were rejected.

The Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People sponsored a suit for them in Federal Court. After a long fight the university was ordered to enroll them. Mrs. Hudson chanced to be seeking a divorce, so the university rejected her because of "conduct and marital status." Unable to find any grounds to exclude Miss Lucy, the board of trustees met for a three-hour discussion with Gov. Folsom Jan. 29, and admitted they were faced with "a very serious matter." The courts had rejected their petition for a rehearing.

FIRST IN HISTORY: Feb. 1 was registration day for students beginning the new term. The **AP** reported from Tuscaloosa, seat of the 125-year-old university, that Miss Lucy, 26, under heavy police guard became the first Negro to attend classes at Alabama U. The story said that though "other students watched" her,

> ". . . the only demonstration came when she entered her first class. . . . An unidentified freshman boy walked out of the room with his fist clenched, saying, 'For two cents I'd drop the course.'"

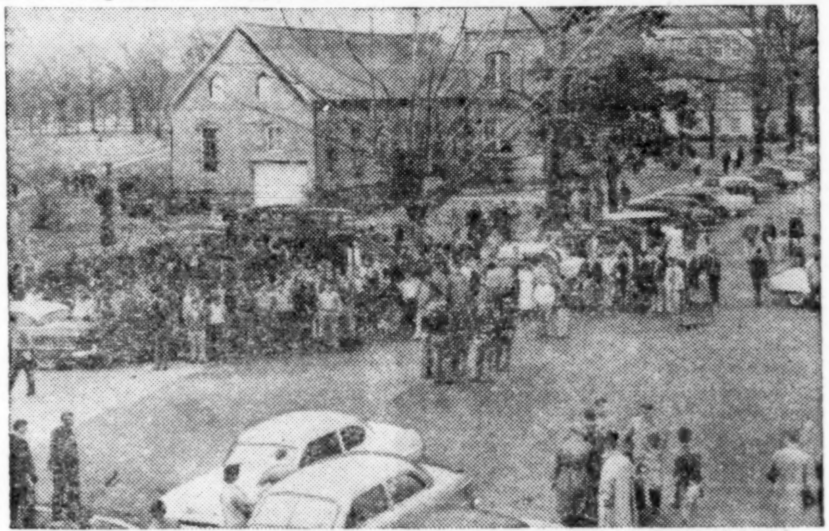
The Baltimore **Afro-American**'s chief editor, Cliff Mackay, was on the spot opening day too. Miss Lucy's "entrance . . . among 12,000 white students attracted so little attention," he wrote, "that one co-ed was heard to say: 'I wonder why they haven't let them come here before.'" Most of the students, Mackay thought, were either actually indifferent "or preferred to create the impression that they considered her no different from the others." At the end of the day, Miss Lucy told him she felt everything had gone off "naturally, just as I believed and hoped it would." Mackay wrote:

> "One teacher, she said, detaining her after other members of the class had gone, whispered: 'I admire your courage and I am sure you will win.' A male student passed her a folded note which read: 'There're more of us rooting for you than you think. We don't like the deal these old mossbacks on the board gave you.'"

THE MOB GATHERS: But by Saturday, according to **AP**, "resentment" at Miss Lucy's presence exploded "in a shouting demonstration of 1,000 men students" who

> ". . . burned a cross on the campus and [about 500-strong] marched two miles to downtown Tuscaloosa, singing 'Dixie' [and shouting] 'Keep Bama white! To hell with Autherine!'"

Official reports at first said "a few inebriated fraternity men" supplied the mob's "original" leadership. The same reports told of "thousands" attracted to a small group around a burning cross. A later account quoted Walter Flower, president of the university Student Govt. Assn., as saying that most of the cars in a procession which went to Pres. O. C. Carmichael's house "didn't belong there"; they "were loaded with grown men."



THE DEFENDERS OF SOUTHERN HONOR AT WORK IN TUSCALOOSA

Police try to hold back the mob rioting at Alabama University

On Monday Miss Lucy arrived to attend classes and the mobs got out of hand. They attacked alike cars carrying Negroes and faculty members. Miss Lucy was driven to classes in a car owned by Sarah L. Healy, dean of women. Police said they might have been killed if they had been in Mrs. Healy's car when its rear window was smashed by heavy stones.

SUSPENSION VOTED: At noon the police got Miss Lucy off the campus while the Negro editor of a Birmingham weekly acted as decoy. He escaped injury. Miss Lucy returned the 60 miles to Birmingham, where she lives with a married sister. Barred from living on the campus, she had been forced to commute the 120 miles daily.

On Monday night the trustees met and voted unanimously to suspend Miss Lucy, ostensibly for the safety of the students.

Dr. Carmichael told a closed session of faculty members, before the decision, that the alternative to suspension would be to use the Alabama National Guard. Gov. Folsom had already refused permission. State highway patrolmen helped university and city police to keep traffic moving.

The student legislature denounced "mob violence" and urged that students and faculty be protected. Student leader Dennis Holt said: "The university is not going to be run by the White Citizens Council or the Ku Klux Klan." But none of several student resolutions condemning the mob defended Miss Lucy's right to attend Alabama U. or the principle of integration.

By last week international attention had been aroused. The Danish League of Tolerance cabled Dr. Carmichael to send Miss Lucy to Copenhagen University, where a scholarship awaited her. An invitation came from London also. Radio Moscow reported protests which "persecution of this Negro student aroused throughout the U.S." At home protests appeared in unusual places. The N.Y. **Journal American** (Hearst) carried a sympathetic page-1 interview quoting Miss Lucy as declaring she was "not discouraged." An editorial called the demonstrations "ugly, dangerous, an attempt to supplant law by violence and an affront to decency and democracy."

The Montgomery (Ala.) **Journal** put "responsibility . . . squarely upon the courts." It said "resistance" to "race mixing" should be "accompanied by our respect for law and order." The Memphis **Commercial Appeal** deplored "mob action . . . because it is clumsy and harms the very things members of the mob are trying to do."

Walter Lippmann wrote in his syndicated column:

> "What is at stake in this surrender to a mob is whether Alabama is in fact, not merely in name, a sovereign state. For what has happened in Tuscaloosa is a quite different thing from what has happened in any of the other Southern states which are opposing integration. . . . Nowhere else has resistance to the decision of the Supreme Court been left to a mob. Nowhere else has the state government connived at mob rule, which is what Gov. Folsom did."

The N. Y. **Times** asked whether it was

> ". . . 'respect for law and order' that is being shown when the trustees of the university, instead of standing up to this threat, vote to suspend not the instigators of the outrage but the girl herself."

Arthur Shores, Miss Lucy's attorney, told the N. Y. **Amsterdam News** he "thoroughly discounted" the school's reason for barring Miss Lucy because

> ". . . if [Carmichael] would permit the school to bar her for her personal safety, it would set up a southwide precedent in which schools could say that they could not let Negroes attend because [the schools] feared for Negroes' safety."

Noting the invitations for Miss Lucy to study abroad, Shores said that she preferred to study at Alabama U., which is supported by taxes from Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmers.

Late last week Miss Lucy filed a suit in Federal Court in Birmingham to force the trustees to readmit her. She asked $2,000 damages as a result of the suspension. In a separate suit she asked that the university be ordered to permit her to live on the campus.

Southern Gentlemen

In gentle Alabama
The mobsters take delight
In guarding southern women—
As long as they are white.

In regional politeness
They find a guiding light:
They honor southern women—
As long as they are white.

But if a southern woman,
Whose color is not white,
Seeks equal education,
These gentlemen take fright.

A woman's not a woman,
And courtesy's not right
At the U. of Alabama—
Unless her skin is white.

A. Bowman

GO-SLOW LINE: The move for full rights frightened some white proponents of go-slow integration. **Scripps-Howard** staff writer Fred Sparks called the dormitory-dining-room demand "the reddest flag of all, a further spur to hatred and perhaps more violence." The N.Y. **Times** (2/10) found "responsible" but unidentified Negro groups who, the paper said, were "distressed that the case was being pressed in the face of the unexpected mob violence."

Southern editors who uniformly disapproved the mob action, took the go-slow line in response to a sampling of opinion by the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (2/12). Buford Boone of the Tuscaloosa **News** criticized the "namby-pamby policy which permitted the mob to become so strong and vicious" but warned people outside the South that

> ". . . white Southerners will not submit to force and intimidation, nor to all-the-way-at-once changes in a way of life. It is silly in some people's minds to revere a cow. But the Hindus do it. It may not be sensible, intelligent, nor American, in the opinions of many for Southerners to think as we do about segregation. However, in understanding the problem, it is necessary to recognize a condition that exists, whether right or wrong. . . . Give us your patient understanding and your prayers. Otherwise leave us alone."

HARD WORK AND TIME: Hodding Carter of the **Delta Democrat-Times** of Greenville, Miss., said:

> "I see no solution in the ascertainable future, and certainly no likelihood of public school integration. . . . I cannot believe the Alabama riots reflect the attitude of a majority of Southern college students as Negroes have been admitted without incident in other Southern states. But the Tuscaloosa situation does reflect an increasing ill will which is not likely to diminish."

Jonathan Daniels of the Raleigh, S. C. **News and Observer** deplored the disorders as alienating sympathy for the South. C. A. McKnight of the Charlotte (N. C.) **Observer** expected "tension in parts of the South to increase before it lessens." He forecast eventual desegregation by a "shifting, uneven process" that might take "a generation or more" in some parts. Ralph McGill, of the Atlanta **Constitution,** prescribed "hard work" and the passage of time, warned against a "direct fiat."

. The only editor who bluntly defended segregation in his response to the **Tribune** was Thomas Waring of the Charleston (S. C.) **News and Courier:**

> "The problem of race is insoluble. The Southern pattern of segregation, subject to changes from time to time, has maintained order. Use of force even with court sanction, to upset the pattern, will produce disorder."

The American Civil Liberties Union last week called on Atty. Gen. Brownell to press for criminal contempt of court action against those responsible for mob violence at Alabama U.

●

Eastland offers a 3-point program

SEN. JAMES O. EASTLAND (D-Miss.) on Feb. 10 spoke to a White Citizens Councils rally of 10,000 in Montgomery's state-owned Cow Coliseum. He gave this three-point program to prevent allowing "the NAACP to take over your schools":

- Organize a "grass roots" campaign to preserve the jimcrow school system.
- Set up a tax-supported regional commission to "answer the vast attack and cope with the tremendous sums that are being used to misrepresent us."
- Adopt a jimcrow policy which will enable each state to stall off integration indefinitely.

He advocated matching "the organizing ability and tactics of the NAACP," which "did not submit when court decisions were against them" but fought "and are still fighting."

At the same time, NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins underscored the urgency of Congressional legislation against mob violence and adoption of the amendment by Rep. Adam C. Powell (D-N. Y.) to withhold federal funds from educational institutions violating the Supreme Court's desegregation order. Wilkins, who is chairman of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights to be held in Washington March 4-6, said 2,000 delegates representing 50 national labor, church, civic and fraternal organizations were expected from pivotal U. S. congressional districts.

Politics plus

LIBERTY, N. Y.

I should like to suggest that you devote a page of other news of interest as well as political news—even though I realize how important that is. True, we can get other news from other papers, but it seems to me that the idea might attract new readers.

Dr. David Mandell

THE OPENING IS TO THE LEFT

How the political parties line up in Italy today

By "La Scolta"
Special to the Guardian

ITALY is a nation of 46 millions with 2,000,000 unemployed. Its peasants are land hungry, though much of the land lies fallow. Italians have a passionate hatred for war and refuse to believe that it is imminent or even likely.

Of all the things Italy needs, its aggressive military alliance with the U. S. is definitely not one. It costs the nation money it can ill afford, boosts taxes that are already incredibly high and prevents urgently needed trade with Eastern Europe. Yet in an effort to maintain continued U. S. support—to stave off the horrifying possibility of Italian workers and peasants running Italy—the coalition now in power has kow-towed to all of Secy. Dulles' demands: NATO, German rearmament, air bases, even the buying of Coca-Cola which nobody drinks.

In that setting the leftward drift of the voters surprises few and makes more meaningful the slogan raised by Socialist Party leader Pietro Nenni after the 1953 elections: **"Apertura a la sinistra"**—An opening to the left.

The logic of that slogan lies in an analysis of the existing political forces in Italy. This is how they line up:

The Government Coalition

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (40% of the total electorate, 262 deputies): Italy's largest party with somewhat less than 11,000,000 votes. It is the open political voice of the Catholic Church, with a base of clerics, Catholic-industrialists and right-wing trade unionists. A catch-all group, it has run the government for the last eight years.

Under the late Alcide De Gasperi's steady grip, the Christian Democrats submerged their varied internal differences and presented a united front to the opposition. But now, particularly since Scelba's forcing of EDC and other U.S.-sponsored pacts through the Chamber, internal differences have become sharper. Definite "wings" are beginning to appear, and the most left of the wings has supplied the present Premier, Antonio Segni.

Although the Christian Democrats lost 2,000,000 votes in the last national election, they are not seriously on the wane yet, and for some time will continue to be the major political force in Italy because of its position as the Catholic Party.

PIETRO NENNI
The leader of the Socialists

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS (5% of the vote, 19 deputies): In 1946, the Socialist Party, led by Pietro Nenni, received 4,700,000 votes, seated 115 deputies and was Italy's second largest party, exceeded only by the Christian Democrats with 7,500,000 votes. Two years later, before the 1948 elections, Giuseppe Saragat and several influential right-wingers walked out of the Socialist Party, mainly in protest against the party's continued alliance with the Communists.

They became the Social Democrats, an influential section of the Italian left-of-center. The split seriously damaged the Socialist Party which lost over 2,000,000 votes, mostly to the new Social Democratic party. As a reward De Gasperi appointed Saragat Vice Premier, a post he has held in almost every succeeding government.

The Social Democrats joined the government coalition and were given several important cabinet posts. Today they are waning in influence. They lost 700,000 votes in the last election—almost 2/5 of their previous total. Because of their uncritical support of a centrist Catholic government, they are gradually losing their base.

PALMIRO TOGLIATTI
The head of the Communists

In the 1953 election, many Social Democratic leaders walked out of the party and formed a new political movement with a separate slate of candidates. Disorganized and new in the field of independent politics, they elected no deputies, though polling a respectable vote.

THE LIBERAL PARTY (3% of the vote, 14 deputies): Once Italy's largest and most powerful political party, the Liberals ran the government for many years before Mussolini. Today, they are a minor factor. A few weeks ago, a serious split occurred with a number of discontented idealists leaving in protest against the leadership's blatantly reactionary policies. The splinter group has already formed itself into the new Radical Party. What is left of the Liberal Party are the representatives of various banking and monopolist-industrial interests (particularly from Milan) and large Southern landowners. Their future looks poor.

The remaining member of the coalition, the Republican Party (2% of the vote, 5 deputies) is insignificant.

The Left

In the last election, the Socialist and Communist Parties increased their strength by about a million votes each (Communists, 6,000,000; Socialists, 3,500,000). Together they received 37% of Italy's electoral vote and have 218 seats in the Chamber of Deputies (Communists, 143, Socialists, 75).

There has been an attempt in the past—mainly by the Social Democrats—to try to wean the Socialists away from the Communists; but there seems to be no valid reason for the Socialists to break relations with the CP.

Their "pact of unity" is neither written nor formal and does not even consist of formal meetings of the parties' leadership. The mere fact that the basic stated aims of both parties are similar is enough to create an atmosphere of co-operation and mutual endeavor.

They differ, of course, on questions of tactics and many times the Communists give more support than the Socialists to certain proposals, and vice versa. In supporting candidates for the last presidential elections in Italy's Parliament, the Socialists were quick to support Giovanni Gronchi but the Communists at first were reluctant. This stemmed from different ideas as to what type of personality in the Presidency would be the most advantageous for the Left. The Communists were persuaded by the Socialists and supported the victorious Gronchi.

The Right

The Fascists and Monarchists (12% of the vote; 69 deputies) have achieved what appears to be their maximum. It seems unlikely that they will increase this strength and, if anything, probably will lose gradually in the currents running in Italy today.

Greek death island

(Continued from Page 1)

to school teachers, scientists, artists and intellectuals in general. They can leave in three ways only: by being carried out dead, by being led out insane or by being dragged out to the execution post. In these prisons, after having been interrogated and sometimes tortured in Athens' police stations, 50 women are confined in one dark, stinking, six-metre-square cell, freezing in winter and sweltering in summer. Tier upon tier of bunks climb the filthy, cracked walls, and the hard planks are so narrow that the sleepers cannot turn over; nor can these sick, coughing women get a breath of clean air, because the bunks above them practically touch their faces.

FILTH AND FRIGHT: The cement floors—over which rats scamper—are also stacked with women, sleeping on flimsy straw mats, body to body like the inmates of Dachau and Auschwitz. The women are locked in these unheated and unlit dungeons from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. Coughing or weeping or raving, is the order of the night, with the stench of fresh excrement emanating from the wide-open mouth of a barrel placed inside their bolted door. At dawn they are let out for another day of anguish, fright and exhaustion.

Not the least cruel form of torture is the purposefully-prolonged queuing-up—for the latrines, which are so overused that fecal matter and urine slosh about the wooden clogs of the prisoners; and to get canteens filled with a daily fare of cold lentils and beans and, once a week, fish. Then begins the day's grueling work: cleaning up the crumbling, lice-infested prison, carrying cumbersome sacks of foodstuffs up and down stairs, cooking food, emptying latrines, laundering.

After work the exhausted women are herded to a roof (there are no courts in Athens' overcrowded prisons for women) for an hour's airing. The outing is compulsory in all weathers without attention to any women's state of health: consumptives, cardiacs, or other invalids alike.

Supplied with a chunk of black bread and a handful of cold chick-peas, the women are returned to their cages for another night broken only by groans and screams or the opening of the door when some prisoner is taken away to be shot.

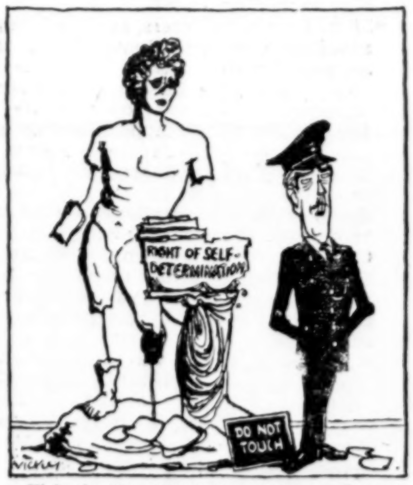
SYNONYMOUS WITH DEATH: Days and nights like these are worsened by the brutality of many of the guards. When in July last year 24 male prisoners escaped from one of Athens' jails, reprisals were made in all prisons: even the women were kept in their cells 22 hours a day, and the "intellectuals" among them were thrown into pitch-black, dripping cellars where the water stood inches high on the stone floors.

If the outside world does not quickly lift its voice, the Greek women may fare still worse. Rumors are rife that they are to be sent to Youra, the men's penal colony from which no one has returned except as a mental or physical wreck. During the five years of its existence, innumerable men died there or were invalided for life. No woman could survive Youra.

The arid, 15-mile-long island, south of Andros and east of Tinos, is lashed by storms the year round, has barely any water or vegetation. The treatment meted out to the prisoners is of the harshest. Their long days of work—breaking rocks and throwing them futilely into the sea, or building bungalows for the camp personnel—are accompanied by incessant beatings, their guards being men specially chosen and trained by the Nazis during the occupation of Greece. Torture is their daily fare. Hanging from the few desiccated fig-trees that manage to grow on the island, men of all ages, from octogenarians to boys of 14, are flogged till at times they become partially crippled. Another "punishment" is to throw the men into the scorpion-infested grottoes inside the ravines.

PROTESTS CALLED FOR: During the sub-zero winters the ragged tents in which the prisoners sleep, stacked together on the ground like herrings in a barrel, are often torn away by the storms, just as their rags are literally torn off their skeleton-like bodies by the rocks which they lug from the stone quarries. During the previous period of Youra's functioning, many thousand prisoners went all but naked, nearly all shoeless on the burning cliffs in summer and through the icy slush in winter. During many weeks of the year when raging seas prevent the food-boats from landing, starvation finished off many of those whom torture had not succeeded in killing.

The reopening of Youra makes a mockery of recent celebrations commemorating the closing of its Nazi predecessors ten years ago. The fact that the women from Athens' jails may be transferred to this isolated devil's island, where their cries for help will remain unheard, is a challenge to every decent man and woman to take action. If there is not to be a general amnesty, at least the conditions of life for Greece's political prisoners must be instantly improved. Protests, private or by groups, should be directed to the Greek government, to humanitarian societies and to the United Nations. A commission of inquiry, if possible internationally constituted, should report on actual conditions affecting the political prisoners in Greece itself and on the island concentration camps. Men and women everywhere have a right to voice this request, and to demand to be heard.—**E. T.**



Vicky in New Statesman & Nation, London

NEWS ITEM: A statue of Apollo has been reconstructed from fragments excavated from Salamis by members of the Antiquated Department of the Cyprus Museum.

A NATION PROUD AND INDEPENDENT AND 98% LITERATE

Serfdom to freedom: The amazing story of Outer Mongolia

By Israel Epstein
Special to the Guardian

ULAN BATOR,
Mongolian People's Republic

I HAVE JUST COME IN from a walk around a spacious, snow-sprinkled square surrounded by fine stone buildings. In the center of the square is the mounted statue of Sukhe Bator. He is the heroic printing worker who, 35 years ago, led the people of what was then a monk-ridden, merchant-bled, illiterate, impoverished, imperialist-ravaged land to freedom.

On one side is the 800-seat Mongolian Academic Theater, where I have seen a number of fine performances and heard a symphony orchestra perform a suite by a Mongolian composer. On another is the House of the Trade Unions, where I danced the New Year in, among some of the brightest and best-informed young people I have ever met.

Not far away are the Choibalsan University, the new surgical hospital, a public library with 200,000 books—twice as many as Ulan Bator has people—the College of Medicine, the College of Agriculture & Animal Husbandry. Buses and automobiles run back and forth. The high-booted pedestrians are brisk, warmly-clad, in fact elegant in their national costumes of fur-lined silk, with broad sashes in brilliant, contrasting colors. Only an occasional string of camels and the rounded white **yurts** (felt tents)—beyond the industrial outskirts with their modern woolen mills, tanneries and meat-packing plants—show that this gleaming, spotless, up-to-date city is the capital of a land of herdsmen.

AT CHOIBALSAN UNIVERSITY
Students working in the laboratory

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AGO: That is Ulan Bator today. Not very long ago, as history goes, it was quite different. In the early 1920's, a Scandinavian traveler wrote of Urga, as it was then called:

> "In the dusty, filthy market-place, yellow and red lamas in pointed headgear, swinging prayer wheels in their hands, hurry about among mounted nomads. . . Caravans rock forward through the narrow, winding lanes. Dogs everywhere prowl, everywhere there is dirt, heaps of garbage and an unbelievable stench."

The foreign traders, seeking Mongolian furs, wool, hides and other products, fleeced the corrupt Mongol princes who, in their turn, squeezed the last drop of blood out of their debt-ridden serfs or **arats**, over whom they had the power of life and death. The country was the happy hunting ground of feudal Chinese warlords, Japanese agents who were plotting its seizure and remnant Russian White Guard troops like those of the incredibly bloody "Mad Baron" Urgern-Sternberg, one of the most obscene monsters of all world history.

Since that time, many things have happened. The Soviet Red Army drove out the White Guards, then withdrew. The exasperated **arats** under Sukhe Bator rose to break the power of the princes, and founded the world's first people's democracy. Independent Mongolia was the first Asian country to show the truth of Lenin's dictum that, with the aid of the victorious working class of a more advanced land, even a feudal society could take the road, bypassing capitalism, to the socialist future.

THE HERDSMAN'S DAUGHTER: That road is a long one. Today, Mongolia is not yet socialist. While all industry and mines are publicly owned, and all trade is done by the state or co-operatives, most of Mongolia's cattle (which are her main wealth) are still individually owned—by yesterday's propertyless **arats**. Mongolia, however, is thoroughly democratic, optimistic, educated. Literacy, facilitated by a simplified script, is now 98%. Where there were once only herdsmen, priests, do-nothing aristocrats and greedy merchants, I met Mongolian workers and engineers, professors and college students, writers and painters, scientists and linguists.

Perhaps my most striking encounter was with the 27-year-old herdsman's daughter, Dolgorma Tsevekdorje. I ran into this poised, attractive woman by accident, while traveling on the new railway. She had never been on a train before, but is a fully qualified physician (most Mongolian doctors are women; 80% of the 140 graduates from Ulan Bator Medical College last year were women.)

I asked her if she had read any western literature. "Yes," she said, "I'm particularly fond of Dreiser and have read **An American Tragedy, Sister Carrie, Jennie Gerhardt** and **The Financier.**" She had also read most of Maupassant, Balzac and Hugo, and much of Galsworthy, Jack London and Howard Fast, some in Mongolian, some in Russian.

BOOKS ARE DEVOURED: I also met several young Mongolians who spoke English very well indeed: One was a lover of Thackeray; I had a very animated conversation with him on the subject. Another, a teacher, had been to the Asian Peoples' Conference in New Delhi last year. French is also much studied. The middle-aged novelist and philologist, Rinchen, a witty and most scholarly conversationalist, knows Russian, French, English, Chinese, Tibetan and Sanskrit.

The people of this pioneer land read ceaselessly; they are gluttons for knowledge and culture as the people of the American plains were in the last century, when the land was young. The Mongolian press, from the translations I got, is broad-ranged and excellent. Publication and translation activity is intense. One can buy Mongolian translations of Tolstoy, Chekhov and Gorky, Boccaccio and Lope da Vega, Beaumarchais and Anatole France, Defoe, Swift, Anna Seghers, Louis Aragon.

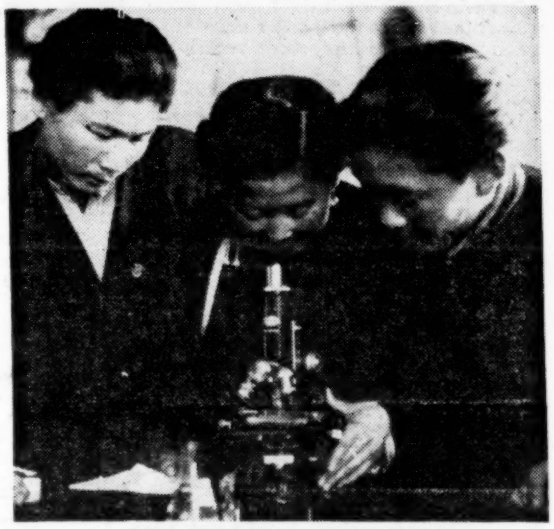
One thing that strikes the visitor at once is the forthright national self-esteem and sense of independence. This has nothing to do with the memories of Genghis Khan and other ancient conquerors. I was told by a Mongol historian:

> "Genghis Khan was a calamity to our nation. In his early career, he united the Mongolian tribes, which was good. But because he represented the most backward, free-booting nobility, he did not try to solve the problems of Mongolia at that time. Instead he wrecked the more advanced civilizations of other countries, learning nothing, only destroying. Ultimately, this course impoverished Mongolia too."

WHO DID THE JOB? The historic pride now is pride of ancient language and culture, pride in old-time fighters for freedom like Prince Amursana, about whom new plays and operas now supplement the old sagas; pride in the leaders of the people's revolution of 1921—Sukhe Bator and Choibalsan.

And greater still is the pride in what has been achieved, built and defended with the participation of even the younger people living today. It was they who swept away the long backwardness; who created a democratic state and culture; who stood guard over the frontiers against Japanese imperialism at the peak of its power at a time when Mongolia's ally, the Soviet Union, was fighting for its life in Europe; who made the epic deep cavalry raids to round up Japanese holdout units in China all the way to the sea and the outskirts of Peking in the closing days of World War II; who have built at a truly tremendous pace since the end of that war—and particularly since the founding of the People's Republic of China.

One has to be here to understand the full meaning—for this small but dashing and talented people—of the defeat of world fascism and of Chiang Kai-shek. . A young veteran, pointing to Ulan Bator's new edifices, told me:



AT A SCHOOL IN ULAN BATOR
Seven heads in a pictorial

> "We couldn't do anything like this before. We had enemies on two sides, constant border fights with the Japanese, constant tension where Chiang held the frontier. Now we have friends, good friends, on all sides."

TIES WITH THE WORLD: Today the Mongolians have diplomatic relations not only with the Soviet Union, as was once the case, but with China, the European and Asian people's democracies, and India. They have trade ties in every direction, exporting leather goods, milk products and meat, importing what they need for construction and everyday life. They are not only developing stock-breeding and its attendant industries, as well as communications; they have used modern science to double grain yields on their way to agricultural self-sufficiency for the first time in the country's history, solving the age-old problem of all pastoral areas.

Industrial output is several times what it was in 1940. Mining has a brilliant future. Mongolia has deposits of coal, iron, copper, lead, manganese, bituminous shale, graphite, sulphur, silver, gold, asbestos, asphalt. The training of technicians is particularly energetic. Because of the small population, all processes are developing on the basis of large-scale mechanization. One sees this in every field, including housing construction.

THE TIMES' "COMIC OPERA": I happened to be reading the N. Y. **Times** the other day and was struck by its shrill sarcasm on the subject of "Outer Mongolia's" proposed membership in the UN, its talk about "puppets," "colonies," "comic opera," etc. If this resurgent, vital people, as I have seen them, represent "colonialism" or "comic opera," the **Times** can make the best of it; others will see things in quite a different light.

I talked about the UN with the deputy premier here, the scholar Bazar Shirindib. Mongolia, he said, has been applying for UN membership since 1946. She belongs in the UN. She fought fascism. She is building for peace and her people. That Chiang should have "vetoed" her membership is a public scandal. That Mongolia has been knocking on the UN's door for ten years is the result of the fact that "certain groups in the U. S. A. don't like the state system of our country."

In this, it seems to me, Shirindib hit the nail squarely on the head. Thinly peopled Mongolia, once backward and entirely undeveloped, lived cheek by jowl with the vast Soviet Union with no other friends from 1921 to the end of World War II. Yet she was neither economically colonized nor politically or culturally absorbed, but helped to get on her own feet as a modern nation. What then, becomes of the lie of "Soviet colonialism?"

In fact, no country can show progress out of colonialism, no country can show the benefits of association with the socialist bloc more clearly than the Mongolian People's Republic. Can that be the reason that Mr. Dulles wants to keep it from the international forum?

MICKIEWICZ COMPETITION

Toney wins Polish award

ANTHONY TONEY of New York City, widely-known painter and teacher, won the $1,500 first prize in a nationwide art competition in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the death of the Polish poet, Adam Mickiewicz, it was announced last week by the Mickiewicz Centenary Committee.

The competition, open to American artists, was for the best illustration of any of the 25 of the shorter poems by Mickiewicz. The judges selected five works for cash prizes totalling $4,000 from among 530 entries from artists in 34 states. The judges were Robert Brackman, Philip Evergood, Hugo Gellert and Anton Refregier.

The award to Toney was for an oil painting illustrating a Mickiewicz sonnet originally published in 1826 and titled "The Ruins of the Castle at Balaklava."

Peter Gourfain, a student at the Art Institute of Chicago, won second prize of $1,000. Third award of $750 went to Mrs. Jean Halpert-Ryden of San Francisco. Philip Reisman of New York City, who was born in Warsaw, won fourth prize of $500. Fifth prize of $250 was given to Kenneth Stern, another student at the Art Institute of Chicago.

ANOTHER CHRONICLE OF THE COLD WAR

The case of Paul Brown—hounded American

By Lawrence Emery

WHAT'S IN A NAME? To Paul A. Brown, born Samuel Horowitz, there is in his name a total of some 15 months already served in the workhouse and jails of two states and the immediate threat of another five-year prison sentence and a possible fine of $5,000.

Born in Brooklyn in 1922, Sam Horowitz shined shoes during the depression when he was a kid, got some vocational high school training, held various jobs before he went to war in 1942. He served honorably for 40 months, ending up on Okinawa with a spell of occupational duty in Korea before he was discharged in 1946. In that year he married and moved to Minneapolis where his wife did post-graduate work at the University of Minnesota and he became an apprentice bookbinder under the GI bill. Always interested in the labor movement, he became active in his union and in progressive youth organizations.

PAUL A. BROWN
Wanted: The right to exist

WHY THE NAME CHANGED: In 1949 his wife died of a rare blood disease, but Sam Horowitz decided to stay on in Minnesota. For a time he became an organizer for the Communist Party in St. Paul. In that post he became fairly well known, was a CP spokesman before public agencies, led several campaigns, got his name in the newspapers.

The cold war was in full blast then and the time came when Sam Horowitz found it difficult or impossible to find or hold a job. But Sam Horowitz had to live. In August, 1953, he went to Milwaukee, Wis., and there took the name of Paul A. Brown—a right legally his and a step forced upon many a militant unionist ever since employers thought up the blacklist.

In Milwaukee Paul Brown quickly found a job and shortly thereafter bought for $195 cash an old automobile which he registered under his new name. In January, 1954, Paul Brown returned to Minneapolis where he registered his car and took out a driver's license under that name. In May of that year a police car stopped him as he was driving home from work and asked for his driver's license. Paul Brown didn't know the cops, but they knew him. They said, "Sam, this isn't your name," and put him under arrest.

WISCONSIN WARRANT: He was held incommunicado over the weekend, couldn't reach a lawyer before he was hustled off to court on Monday morning. He had been told that holding a car registration and a driver's license under an assumed name were misdemeanors; he considered the matter trivial and believed that a light fine would end the matter. He pleaded guilty, was promptly sentenced to maximum terms of 90 days on each count to be served consecutively—a total of six months.

Paul Brown served his sentence, was due to be released on Oct. 16, 1954. But a day earlier a warrant for his arrest came through from Gov. Walter J. Kohler of Wisconsin with a request for extradition. He was wanted on the same charge that already had him in jail—but in Wisconsin the charge was a felony with a five-year penalty and a $5,000 fine. Paul Brown got a lawyer to fight the extradition.

It turned out that then-governor C. Elmer Anderson had signed the extradition papers without granting Paul Brown a hearing. A suit for habeas corpus wound its way right up to the State Supreme Court, but it took 8 months, during most of which time bail was denied and Brown sat it out in jail. During that time Paul Brown's father died in Brooklyn; a temporary bail to permit attendance at the funeral was granted, but under conditions impossible to meet.

MOTHER FLIES OUT: During the long habeas corpus fight, at least four delegations called upon the Governor in Paul Brown's behalf; he refused to see them. When a picket line called attention to the case, he told the press he would not be intimidated. Finally Paul Brown's mother, Mrs. Fannie Horowitz, who is 67, flew out from Brooklyn; the Governor granted her an audience. She spoke passionately and eloquently but the Governor pleaded helplessness; at one point he asked her if any other members of her family were in jail!

Mrs. Horowitz and others went over to Madison, Wis., in an effort to have the charges there dropped. Mrs. Horowitz told Gov. Kohler:

> "What kind of a life has my boy had, I ask you? A shoe shine boy in the slums he was, a little schooling bitterly worked for, 40 months in the army in the South Pacific, at Okinawa, married for three years only, his young wife dead, a few years working, hounded by the FBI, 450 days in jail without light or books or exercise, jailed for a little charge, not a criminal, all for his piece of bread. Is this a life? My son has been persecuted enough. If you send him to prison, I may never see him again. How much can I endure!"

TRIAL MARCH 26: Gov. Kohler refused to intercede. On the day the Minnesota Supreme Court turned down the habeas corpus plea, Paul Brown was whisked off to Milwaukee, where attorney M. Michael Essin took over his defense. After a court fight, he finally won bail, but in the unheard of sum (on such a charge) of $7,500. On Aug. 11, 1955, after 15 months in jail, bail was finally posted. On Jan. 3 this year a motion to dismiss the charges was denied. Paul Brown's trial is now set for March 26.

In a summary of the case prepared for the Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union, attorney Essin wrote:

> "That the FBI was the prime mover in these proceedings and was acting as liaison between the prosecuting officials in Minnesota and Wisconsin was apparent in the absence of denials from the prosecuting officials when that issue was raised. . . . This prosecution, in the considered opinion of Brown's counsel, both present and past, is purely one of political persecution. . . . To deny that Brown had the legal right to change his name at will is to overturn the settled law of this state, only for the purpose of imprisoning him for his alleged political beliefs."

WHAT YOU CAN DO: In an appeal for help for her son, Mrs. Horowitz writes:

> "It took all my life's savings, plus the money from friends and relatives, to raise the bail of $7,500. Money is needed for briefs, transcripts, attorney's fees, etc. Won't you please help?"

Funds can be sent to the Paul Brown Defense Committee, 914 N. Plankinton Av., Rm. 310, Milwaukee 3, Wis. The committee urges letters or wires to D. A. William J. McCauley, Safety Bldg., 8th & State Sts., Milwaukee, asking that he dismiss charges against Paul Brown.

FREEDOM'S "CRUSADE" IN THE FREE AIR

The facts about those balloons

By Kumar Goshal

AT A NEWS CONFERENCE on Feb. 9, Moscow displayed 50 disassembled American balloons, together with radio and photographic equipment they carried, and insisted they were for military reconnaissance and not for weather reports. It was charged that the balloon flights were a U. S. "attempt to conduct a brink of war" policy.

Earlier Moscow protests had said that the balloons, containing up to 58,000 cubic feet of gas and carrying loads weighing up to 1,433 pounds, were endangering Soviet domestic and international air routes. Launched from several countries, including W. Germany and Turkey, the balloon equipment, Moscow said, included automatic cameras for aerial photography, radio transmitters and receivers "and other things."

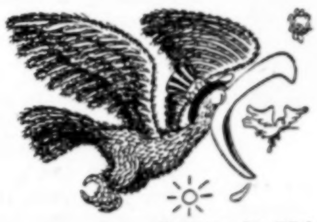
BELATED ADMISSION: Wondering how Washington would react to similar Soviet balloons over the U. S., Moscow had condemned the "gross violation" of international law giving every state sovereignty over its own air space. It pointed out that any aircraft flight over a state's territory requires permission, and recalled that it had protested against the balloons to both Washington and Bonn last year.

Washington first denied and then admitted that the balloons were being launched from W. Germany and Turkey. Secy. of State Dulles explained that the balloons were collecting weather data to be made available to scientists during the International Geophysical Year of 1957-58. He said it would be "quite accidental" if the balloon cameras picked up "anything significant" on the ground.

TEMPORARY HALT: Dulles ridiculed the charge that the balloons are a hazard to aircraft, but "an Air Force source" told the **N. Y. Times** that planes were in danger of running into them as they rose past levels used by commercial aircraft, or drifted down by parachute.

Denying the existence of any clear-cut international law concerning air space above a country, Washington nevertheless temporarily halted balloon launchings from W. Germany and Turkey.

OTHER PROTESTS: Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania also protested to the U. S. and the UN against balloons over their territories launched from W. Germany by the Free Europe Press. FEP is a division of the Crusade for Freedom, whose sponsors and officers include Gen. Lucius D. Clay, Henry Luce, Cecil DeMille and Henry Ford II. President Eisenhower and Central Intelligence head Allen W. Dulles have been on the sponsor's list in the past.



Drawing by Effel, Paris
HUNGER FOR PEACE

Said to be a privately-operated organization, Crusade for Freedom has open Administration support. Last Sept. 19 President Eisenhower named Under Secy. of Commerce Walter Williams to be the Crusade's Federal chairman and "reemphasized his stand against the enslavement" of Eastern Europeans and his support of "the crusade's efforts to build . . . resistance behind the Iron Curtain" (**NYT**, 9/19/55). The Crusade conducts a ceaseless campaign for funds in the U. S.; Williams' job is to supervise fund raising among Federal and armed forces personnel.

SECRET WEAPON KELLY: FEP's balloons carry propaganda leaflets aimed at the Eastern European countries: It boasts of having launched since 1954 more than 400,000 of them carrying a quarter of a billion leaflets. Stray balloons drifting over London were found to carry such effective propaganda items as pictures of Winston Churchill and movie star Grace Kelly.

GUARDIAN correspondent George Wheeler visited an exhibition of these balloons in Prague. He reported:

> "They range in size from a few feet across to huge contraptions over 36 feet across and containing up to 1,800 cubic yards of hydrogen gas. Some carry chemicals that ignite when wet. One had a load—still intact—of 375 pounds of leaflets, and its parts were marked "Made in U. S. A." Detonators in the balloons are attached to 8-day clocks that free the bundles of leaflets, one at a time, by the explosion."

INSULT TO INJURY: Describing the hazards the balloons represented, Wheeler said:

> "Drifting in thousands through the sky they are an acute hazard to aircraft because an encounter with them would certainly wreck a plane. Their transparent plastic bags are difficult to see during the day and so impossible to avoid in the dark that Czech and other air lines have cancelled night flights. The balloons have already injured about 20 people in Czechoslovakia, some seriously, when they exploded and burned against houses, trains, etc. Tangling in the wires, they cut power transmission on several occasions. Besides, the millions of leaflets have created a nuisance by littering the countryside."

Wheeler met no one

> ". . . who thought that the propaganda had any effect other than to make people here indignant—just as Americans would be if some other country sent in balloons advising them how to run their affairs and, incidentally, injuring people and creating hazards to the international airways."

Wheeler's story was corroborated by a **N. Y. Times** report on Feb. 6 that not only did the Czechoslovak National Airline cancel some night flights, but the Belgian Sabena airline also called off its regular flight to Prague Jan. 21.

GERMS TOO? In Moscow, Soviet Col. Tarantsev told correspondents that the balloon loads demonstrated in Moscow "could include germs" (**UP**, 2/9). But Washington insisted that these flights were harmless. To the **N. Y. Times'** military analyst Hanson Baldwin (2/7), however, they highlighted

> ". . . the increasing military importance of the balloon [which] equipped with nuclear weapons or biological agents could be a real menace."

Patronize GUARDIAN
Advertisers

Stevenson washout

(Continued from page 1)

and added:

> "You should not cut off your nose to spite your face."

On the "interposition" doctrine of some Southern states nullifying the Supreme Court order, Stevenson was less blunt, said he did not understand the word. He suggested that integration be postponed until 1963, indicating that freedom in less than a century after Emancipation was not sufficiently "gradual."

Stevenson was not blundering into an awkward position: he was rushing into it with his eyes wide open. He seemed to be deliberately kicking the people he thought were in his corner. The State Democratic Council meeting in Fresno, where he made his main appearance, had been well prepared. Clubs from all over the state had sent batches of memoranda and resolutions favoring a vigorous civil rights policy. A labor caucus submitted a long questionnaire. Stevenson accepted it, exclaimed: "Oh, my God," smiled and put it in his pocket.

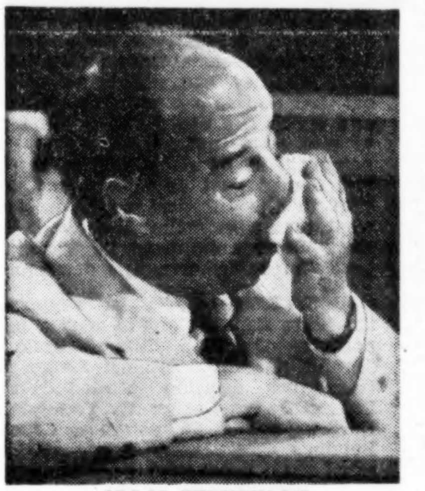
CAN YOU IMAGINE? He affronted labor without worrying about the fact that the California Fedn. of Labor had endorsed a Republican governor two years ago and helped elect him. His "moderation" brought these comments from Negro delegates: "Can you imagine that?" and "I think he's a phony."

A number of Negro delegates who came wearing bright orange iridescent Stevenson badges, left with Kefauver buttons. Unmoved by such disaffections Stevenson said:

> "I don't intend to take positions in this campaign which would reduce my effectiveness as President. I am sorry I cannot go as far as one or another of my friends would on one or another of these issues."

The slick Stevenson machine had lined up Stevenson pledges from 86.1% of the delegates and that seemed to outweigh Estes Kefauver's grass roots appeal.

KEFAUVER GETS CHEERS: The professionals discounted the spectacle of delegates by the hundreds—most with Stevenson buttons—cheering candidate Kefauver 43 times during his speech. (Stevenson got a hand only 20 times.) Kefauver brought the house down when he came out flatly for Federal action to stop lynch mobs in the South and when he assailed the big-business character of the Administration. He answered carefully every question in the labor questionnaire which Stevenson pocketed.



ADLAI STEVENSON
Don't anybody sneeze

Still, Stevenson drew the long formal ovations accorded a chosen candidate and most observers agreed he still was the odds-on favorite to capture the delegation in the June 5 California primaries.

AS LINCOLN MOANED: After sober second thought Stevenson made matters worse. In a press conference on Lincoln's birthday he asked that civil rights be taken out of the election year debate and that the nation recognize that "punitive action by the Federal Government may actually delay the process of integration in education." He opened the way for indefinite delays when he said:

> "True integration requires more than the mere presence of children of two races in the same classroom; it requires change in the hearts and minds of men."

Stevenson repeated his opposition to the Powell amendment. His rival Gov. Harriman promptly announced that he supported it. Harriman went further and called for action by the Attorney General "in supporting the Federal law and in bringing to justice the violators of Federal law."

The Congressional liberals were in a fiercely "moderate" mood that brought them into a close harmony with the most rabid reactionaries. The "Committee of One Million," organized to keep China out of the UN, announced that its steering committee and membership includes Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.), Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore.), Sen. Harley Kilgore (D-W. Va.) and Chet Holifield (D-Calif.).

NATION'S ARGUMENT: The closest thing to a reappraisal of committed support for Stevenson came from the **Nation** (1/28) which said in an editorial entitled: "Should Liberals Climb Aboard?":

> "Liberals are not organized effectively so that they can bargain directly; their power lies in their independence. The moment they are committed their influence declines. Opportunists, on the other hand, function in an entirely different fashion. For the way to acquire a payoff position in politics is to pick a winner and then commit yourself to him as far in advance of the election as possible. . . . For liberals to turn opportunistic is not the way to realign American political parties; it is the way to one-party government."

Hinting at a liberal reason for voting for Eisenhower the **Nation** said that liberals must ask themselves:

> ". . . which of the various 'moderate' Democrats and Republicans—the only avowed radicals in either party are today of the right-wing variety—can best contain the right-wingers. . . ."

Even Stevenson liberals, the **Nation** argued, should withhold commitments because they forfeit their chance to influence the GOP choice of a slate, and more important:

> "How can liberals persuade Mr. Stevenson to be less 'moderate' on domestic issues and perhaps a bit more moderate on foreign-policy issues if he is uncritically and permanently endorsed?"

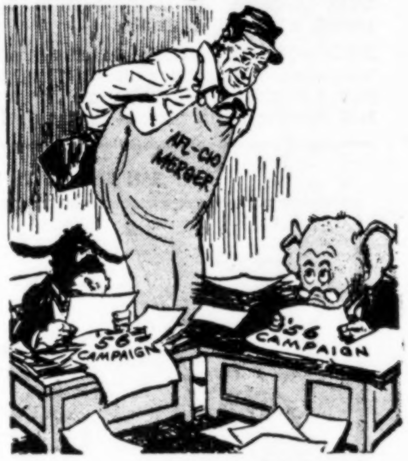
THE NEW REPUBLIC: The **New Republic** (2/6) scorned the **Nation's** stand, offered Eisenhower's cabinet as the most damning evidence against him, and summed up:

> "Men who believe in Stevenson's ideas rally to Stevenson; those who believe in Eisenhower's Republicanism rally to Eisenhower; but let no journal of opinion flirt with candidates who repudiate its ideas, for to do so calls into question its reason for being."

The **New Republic** ignored the dilemma which racks many people who believe neither in Stevenson nor Eisenhower. The **N.Y. Post** (2/9) viewed Stevenson's "gradualism" more with sorrow than anger and blamed it on "Stevenson's absorption with the history of the Civil War and with Lincoln's agony over the failure of conciliation and compromise." The **Post** deplored his statement that the Democratic Party, including Sen. Eastland of Mississippi, "serves all races and creeds and segments of our people," but said only that "such rhetoric is unworthy of him." The **Post**'s answer was not public pressure:

> "We think Stevenson's stand is inadequate. But he will be no better a candidate—and less of a man—if he alters it under pressure, rather than through the process of evolving conviction."

THE WORKER'S POSITION: The **Daily Worker's** managing editor Alan Max (2/7) agreed with the **Nation's** misgivings but found its position of considering a possible support of Eisenhower "self-defeating." He urged the **New Republic** to press its candidate Stevenson to take a position less frightening to liberals. Max saw little difference between Stevenson and Eisenhower on foreign policy but said:



Crockett in Washintgon Star
"Mind if I look over your shoulders?"

> "What needs to be examined . . . is the question of around which party and which candidate a movement of labor and others is developing and can be propelled forward. In the absence of a labor-led third party it is around a Democratic candidate, whoever it will be, that such a movement will develop."

Adlai Stevenson had plainly shocked the left-of-center in the U.S. into a sober mood. But few of its representatives were shocked enough to begin talking with each other, and fewer still thought it time to talk to the American people of an alternative to the bi-partisan see-saw.

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SUPREME COURT TEST NEAR?

Daily Worker editor denied a passport; Federal judge disputes Youngdahl's view

DESPITE SEVERAL COURT set-backs last year, the State Dept.'s Passport Division seems determined to continue its discriminatory policies.

On Feb. 8 the Department denied a passport to **Daily Worker** managing editor Alan Max, who planned to go to Moscow to cover the inauguration of the Sixth Five-Year Plan at the Feb. 14 Soviet Communist Party Congress.

On Feb. 9 Federal Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy upheld the State Dept.'s right to deny a passport to scientist Weldon Bruce Dayton, who wished to accept a three-year appointment by the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research at Bombay, India.

FREEDOM OF PRESS: Max' passport was denied on the grounds that his paper was "controlled" by the Communist Party and his "travel to the Soviet Union would further the purposes of the world Communist movement." In a letter to Secy. of State Dulles, urging him to give the matter his personal attention, Max pointed out the arbitrary nature of the decision by reminding him that the State Dept. had already issued passports to **Daily Worker** correspondents to cover the two Geneva conferences and the Winter Olympics in Italy. Max also asked Sen. Thomas C. Hennings of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Liberties to intervene with the State Dept. to get him a passport. Declaring that freedom of the press was at stake, editor-in-chief John Gates announced that the **Daily Worker** would fight to have the decision reversed.

Referring to him as a "nuclear scientist," the State Dept. denied the Dayton passport on the grounds of his alleged association "with the Rosenberg spy ring" and accusations made against him in "confidential information." Dayton's attorney Harry I. Rand pointed out that he was a cosmic ray physicist, and called the State Dept.'s reference to him as a nuclear scientist a "red herring." In sworn affidavits Dayton had denied past or present membership in the CP and any connection whatever with "the Rosenberg spy ring." Rand announced he would appeal Judge McGarraghy's decision.

OPPOSITE RULING: In supporting the State Dept.'s right to deny a passport to Dayton without disclosing "confidenial information," Judge McGarraghy's decision conflicted with Federal Judge Luther W. Youngdahl's Nov. 22 ruling in attorney Leonard Boudin's case. Judge Youngdahl had ruled that a passport denial must be based on information in the record disclosed to the applicant.

The Dayton case will now join the Boudin and Paul Robeson cases before the Court of Appeals, and all may eventually reach the Supreme Court, since the high tribunal frequently grants a review in cases where lower courts' judgments are in conflict. Government lawyers were reported preparing a stiff fight to preserve the State Dept.'s passport denial powers.

In light of the denial of a passport to Dayton "through guilt by association," the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell has asked the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights to investigate the violation of Sobell's basic constitutional rights. Pointing out that such prominent Americans as author Elmer Davis, journalist Walter Millis and Michigan Justice Patrick H. O'Brien were convinced by studying the evidence that "there was perjured evidence in the Rosenberg-Sobell trial," the Sobell Committee said an investigation "at the earliest possible moment" is essential.

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PALO ALTO, CALIF.

Though I feel critical of some of the GUARDIAN's policies, such as the push for a Third Party in '56, I recognize the sincerity of its splendid staff. The warmest greetings to you all. E. H. Wilson

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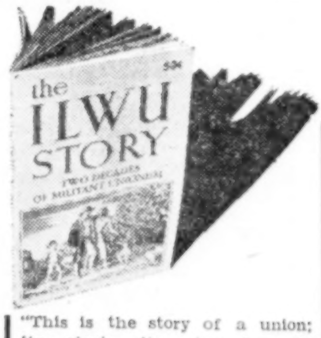

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HEAR HARVEY O'CONNOR, Rev. William T. Baird, Alec Jones at Rally to Protest Supervisory Parole Indictment of James Keller and to Repeal Walter-McCarran Law. Sun., Feb. 26, 2:30 p.m., Curtis Hall, 410 S. Michigan. Entertainment. Admission: 50c.

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DAN GILLMOR, N.Y. newspaperman, Nation contributor, former editor **Friday** Mag., author 308-page Cong. investigations documentary, **"FEAR THE ACCCUSER,"** speaks Fri., Mar. 2; 8 p.m., on "THE POLITICAL USE OF FEAR." Adm. $1, or $2.50 with W. E. B. DuBois Apr. 6, Robert Hutchins May 4. 2936 W. 8th St. **UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM.**

MARTIN HALL, news analyst, writer, foreign correspondent, will resume his popular NEWS OF THE WEEK series, every Mon. night, 8 p.m. 509 N. Western Av., L. A. 4. Admission: 75c. Sponsor: So. Calif. Peace Crusade.

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CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) **"PICKWICK PAPERS,"** Feb. 18. The adventures and comic misfortunes of some of the best-loved characters of all fiction, rendered in great style by a galaxy of British stars. Showings: Sat. only, 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **THE CAPTAIN FROM KOEPENICK** (German).

Next **GUARDIAN THEATRE PARTY "UNCLE VANYA,"** Tues., March 13. Orchestra seats $5. Call or write 17 Murray St. WO 4-3960.

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EVENING IN THE THEATER

'Uncle Vanya' at the 4th St. gets a striking production

ONCE MORE David Ross is luring theatergoers into his rabbit-hole playhouse on Fourth St. and Second Av. to reveal the wonderland of Chekhov. Following **The Three Sisters** and **The Cherry Orchard,** he is presenting a beautiful, heart-warming production of **Uncle Vanya,** translated by Stark Young.

Director Ross and his staff have transferred this new version from the page to the stage with tenderness and skill. The very disadvantages of the day-coach auditorium have been put to use ingeniously, serving the action and the atmosphere which give this **Uncle Vanya** its particular flavor. It was Stark Young himself who wrote many years ago: "There is no such thing as a play directed exactly as it was written any more than there is a landscape painted as it really was."

FRANCHOT TONE
A mature performance

LOOMING PROMISE: Uncle Vanya is not only compelling but timely. Behind the personal conflict looms the promise that though men have a propensity for destroying everything around them in a period of social decay, mankind is not doomed, and the future will be brighter and better planned.

The striking feature of the production is the ensemble acting, which creates a convincing illusion of the people and the period. Franchot Tone lends dignity and humor to the part of Dr. Astroff. It is his most mature performance to date. Signe Hasso and Peggy McKay are splendid as the principal women of the cast, and Clarence Derwent gives a devastatingly suave performance as the hypocritical landowner with professorial pretensions.

FIRST-RATE JOB: The one jarring note is George Voskovec as Uncle Vanya. He tends to reach out for the audience in this intimate theater, instead of drawing them toward him, and to demand pity rather than to command sympathy.

The settings, lighting, costumes and stage effects are first-rate. Every aspect of the production reflects the well-placed enthusiasm of all those who have presented so well a work of such enduring worth. Their faith in the good judgment of audiences has been justified. The theater is sold out every night by curtain time. Don't miss it.

—Spectator

Tuesday, March 13

Save the night of Tuesday, March 13, for the National Guardian's Theater Party at **Uncle Vanya.** All seats are $5. Write Theater Party, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7. Or call WO 4-3960.

O'Connor will speak for Keller in Chicago

HARVEY O'CONNOR, author and former publicity director of the CIO Oil Workers Intl. Union, will address a public rally in Chicago Sunday, Feb. 26, to protest the Justice Dept.'s efforts to imprison James Keller under the supervisory parole provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law. The meeting will be held at Curtis Hall, 410 South Michigan, at 2:30 p.m.

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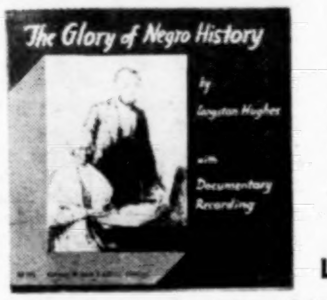

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Kisses Sweeter Than Wine
In the Evening When the Sun Goes Down

the SPECTATOR

The Cross-Eyed Bear

(The author of this essay, Lee Hayes, is himself a noted balladeer and student of American folk music, and a member of the Weavers.)

CLAUDE WILLIAMS tells of an old preacher who did not like singing or music in any form, because it was sinful, all of it.

Arguing with him, someone said, "Preacher, I can't agree. Music is divine, the language of the angels. It explains the unexplainable, defines the indefinable, expresses the unexpressable."

The old preacher said, "I don't care if it unscrews the inscrutable, it's wicked and I won't stand for it!"

Still, since John Wesley asked why the Devil should have all the pretty tunes, most churches have found that they could not stay in business without music. There is a story of a little girl who, after going to church for the first time, was asked how she liked the services. "I liked the singing fine," she said, "but the commercial was too long!"

THE QUESTIONS THEY ASKED: American jazz testifies that much religious music, from which it sprang, had a strong, joyous beat and was dance-like in form. Of course some hymns were gruesome and vengeful, but the best of them sang of real situations, sorrowful or gay, the people who wrote them singing of their hard trials and asking straight questions:

We are often destitute for the things that life demands,
Want of shelter and of food, thirsty hills and barren lands,
And we wonder why this test when we've tried to do our best,
But we'll understand it better by and by.

Followed by a handclapping chorus of affirmation:

We will tell the story of how we've overcome,
And we'll understand it better by and by.

Recently another verse was added:

Emmett Till was slain, you know, not so very long ago,
And our hearts were made to bleed for that terrible sinful deed,
In the Southland some day, when the mist has rolled away,
Then they'll understand it better by and by.

(Mrs. Marion Hicks)

THE PEOPLE WHO MADE THEM: Folk songs generally deal with daily affairs, but too often we know as little of the circumstances that produced them as we do of their forgotten authors. We have had to learn them from too-expensive anthologies that told us too little. We have sung songs because of their pretty tunes, often without thinking or knowing what the songs mean, like the little boy whose favorite hymn was "Oh Lord, the cross-eyed bear."

We may be grateful to Russell Ames who has written a book, **The Story of American Folk Songs,*** to introduce us to the people who have made our songs. As the foreword says: "He has made the inner lives of the people as real as the experiences that they endured." The book helps us to understand how and why the songs of pioneers, slaves, patriots and working people were written. He persuades us that we do have what Walt Whitman complained we did not have, "a great poetry native to us." It is a poetry written to Whitman's own demanding specifications, of "great events, personages, romances, wars, loves, passions, the victories and power of their country. . . ."

TOOTHPASTE AND TUNES: In a beautiful essay on Negro music, known to many as "not only the finest American songs but the highest achievement of our entire culture," Ames stresses a quality that should help us sing Negro music with more understanding and conviction. This is the immediacy of spirituals, "the sense that Biblical history is taking place right before your eyes or even that you are included in the action." In the song of Joshua at Jericho, he says: "Living persons speak and the battles are not with abstract sin . . . but with actual enemies who must be conquered if a whole people is to find a home in this world."

Today we may buy, as Walt Whitman could not, our own songs along with our toothpaste and aspirin, and at very low cost. Our history in music is no farther than our newsstand. Ames helps us to know how our ancestors (who certainly did not realize that they were ancestors) made songs out of the headlines and head-aches and fun of their day.

—Lee Hayes

THE STORY OF AMERICAN FOLK SONG, by Russell Ames. The Little Music Library, Grosset and Dunlap, publishers, New York. 276 pp. 95c.

Art show and sale at Barbizon Plaza

AN ART SHOW and sale entitled "American Salon" will open at the Barbizon Plaza Art Gallery, 108 Central Park So., on Feb. 22, and run daily from 2-11 p.m. to Feb. 27.

Part of the proceeds from all sales will go to pay for appeals for a new trial for Morton Sobell, fellow victim of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, who is serving a 30-year sentence at Alcatraz.

The show includes works by Robt. Gwathmey, Harry Gottlieb, Raphael, Moses and Isaac Soyer, Philip Reisman, Isabel Bishop, Paul Cadmus, Henry Koerner, Nicolai Cikovsky and Leon Kroll. Admission is free.

Met Music School Negro History concert

THE Metropolitan Music School, 18 W. 74th St., N. Y., has announced a concert at 4 p.m., Sun., Feb. 19, in celebration of Negro History Week.